

Message Text

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ACTION AF-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 IO-04 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01

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R 160930Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9757

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL LUANDA

CINCEUR

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 8694

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV CG AO PFOR

SUBJ: ZIARE-ANGOLA-CABINDA

1. BISENGIMANA, DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENCY, OCT 14, AFTER REVIEWING NUMBER OF ECONOMIC SUBJECTS WITH DCM AND ME, RAISED ANGOLA OF HIS OWN ACCORD. JUST AS HE HAD SAID HE WOULD AT PREVIOUS SESSION, HE PUT PROBLEM IN BROAD OVER-ALL CONTEXT. PRESUMABLY IN MEANTIME HE HAD OBTAINED MOUTUT'S OK TO TALK.

2. REAL IMPORTANCE OF ANGOLA, HE ASSERTED, WAS THAT IT OFFERED KEY TO LONG-TERM SOLUTION OF RHODESIAN AND SOUTH
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AFRICAN PROBLEMS. PRESENCE OF LARGE WHITE POPULATION,

MULATTOSS AND BLACKS, MEANT THAT IF VIABLE FORMULA FOR
INTERRACIAL HARMONY COULD BE WORKED OUT, IT WOULD
POINT WAY FOR RODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

3. ZAIRE SEEKS THIS OPTIMUM RESULT, BUT AT ALL COSTS
ZAIRE HAD TO AVOID BOTH REPETITION OF CHAOS THAT HAD
SWEEP CONGO IN THE 60'S AND ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNIST STATE
IN ANGOLA. IT WAS BECAUSE STAKES WERE SO HIGH FOR
ZAIRE THAT PRESIDENT MOBUTU WAS TAKING LEAD HIMSELF IN
SEEKING SOLUTION. IN CURIOUS BUT INTERESTING ASIDE
BISENGIMANA ASSERTED, CONTRARY TO MOBUTU'S PUBLIC LINE,
THAT ZAIRE WAS EXERCISING STRICT CONTROL OVER ARMS
REACHING FLNA AND THAT FAZ WOULD NOT PERMIT MILITARY
PRESSURES ON PORTUGAL TO GET OUT OF CONTROL.

4. EXPANDING ON COMMUNIST THREAT, BISENGAMANA SAID THERE
WERE TWO SOURCES OF DANGER. FIRST, IN PORTUGAL ITSELF WHERE
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE WAS STRONG BOTH IN AND ON ARMED
FORCES MOVEMENT. HE COMMENTED THAT HIGH LEVEL
PORTUGUESE DELEGATION IN NEGOTIATIONS HERE WITH MOBUTU
HAD APPEARED AT TIME TO BE SPLIT AND THAT VARIOUS MEMBERS
OF DELEGATION SEEMED TO HOLD INDIVIDUAL POSITIONS.
OTHER THREAT CAME FROM SOVIETS WHO ARE BACKING NATO,
WORKING LARGELY THROUGH CONGO BRAZZAVILLE, BUT ALSO
USING AMIN IN UGANDA AND TOGETHER WITH FRENCH TRYING
TO USE BONGO IN GABON. HE TOOK SERIOUSLY SOVIET ARMING
OF AMIN DESPITE MY INTERJECTION THAT AMIN MIGHT CAUSE
TROUBLE FOR TANZANIA BUT THAT I HARDLY SAW HIM AS
SOVIET AGENT FOR INTRODUCING ARMS INTO CONGO.

5. CONGOLESE MACHINATIONS TO TAKE CABINDA OVER WAS
IMPORTANT ASPECT OF COMPLICATED ANGOLAN SITUATION.
ZAIRE WOULD ACCEPT INDEPENDENT CABINDA OR CABINDA
ATTACHED TO A FRIENDLY ANGOLA (MENTIONED IN THIS ORDER)
BUT ZAIRE WOULD NOT ACCEPT INCORPORATION OF CABINDA
BY CONGO BRAZZAVILLE. HE REFERRED TO A MAJOR RAOUL AS
NGOUABI'S MAN TO TAKE OVER CABINDA. RAOUL, HE SAID,
WAS MOSCOW ORIENTED AND FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN TCHIOUFOU.
HE REFERRED TO GABON AND CONGO BRAZZAVILLE WORKING TOGETHER
RE CABINDA, WITH BOTH FRENCH AND SOVIET PRESSURES BEING BROUGHT
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TO BEAR, PRESUMABLE FOR DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES, BUT THIS WAS
NOT EXPLICIT.

6. IMPORTANCE OF CABINDA WAS NOT OIL, RATHER IT WAS
ITS GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND ROLE IT COULD PLAY IN
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA. HE
MENTIONED AS EXAMPLES OF WHAT CABINDA COULD BE ENTREPOT
POSITION OF HONG KONG, LIBERIA WITH ITS FLAGS OF

CONVENIENCE, LIECHENSTEIN, AND GUARANTEED NEUTRALITY OF SWITZERLAND. A HOSTILE CABINDA, ATHWART ZAIRE'S RESTRICTED ACCESS TO SEA RESULTING FROM WAY EUROPEAN GEOGRAPHERS AHD ARBITRARILY DRAWN ANGOLAN FRONTIERS YEARS AGO, WOULD BE AS INTOLERABLE AS A HOSTILE ANGOLA. AN INDEPENDENT CABINDA, ECONOMICALLY OPEN TO ALL, WITH ITS NEUTRALITY GUARANTEED, WOULD BE OK.

7. I COMMENTED THAT I WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT FUTURE SINCE US AND ZAIRE HAD COMPATIBLE OBJECTIVES IN ANGOLA. AS FOR CABINDA, I WAS CONFIDENT THAT US WOULD OPPOSE ANY CONGOLESE EFFORT FORCIBLY TO INCORPORATE ENCLAVE. I EXPANDED ON THIS TO POINT OUT DANGERS WHICH WOULD FLOW FROM RESORT TO FORCE BY ANY STATE.

8. I ALSO TOLD BISENGIMANA THAT HIS PRESENTATION WAS THE CLEAREST I HAD YET HEARD ABOUT ZAIRE'S POLICY AND AGAIN SUGGESTED HE SHOULD TALK WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM. EARLIER HE HAD SAID WITH REGRET THAT HE WOULD BE ABSENT DURING EASUM'S VISIT BUT AT THIS POINT HE AGREED TO CHANGE HIS PLANS. WE ARE SCHEDULED TO SEE HIM SATURDAY NIGHT SO THAT HE CAN BEGIN HIS OVERDUE VACATION SUNDAY.
HINTON

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